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C27

Carey, M.

To the Polish National
Committee in the United
States. 1838





Class DK415

Book C27



September 30. 1835.

TO THE 126

POLISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE IN THE UNITED STATES.

GENTLEMEN,

M. Carey.

Understanding that you are preparing an historical view of the immigration of your persecuted and expatriated countrymen into this country, I have judged that it might be agreeable to you, and enable you more completely to accomplish your object, to present you with a brief account of the measures adopted in aid of those who visited this city, together with the results, so far as they have fallen within my observation; and my situation, as chairman of the committee appointed to raise funds for them, enabled me to survey the whole ground.

Almost immediately after the arrival of the first body that landed in New York, a committee of twenty-one was appointed here, (May 5, 1834,) for the purpose of raising subscriptions for their relief. This committee hired suitable persons to make collections, which were intended to be forwarded to a committee simultaneously appointed in New York. Accordingly, at an early day, (May 14,) as soon as the funds on hand admitted, a draft for \$500 in favour of the chairman of the latter committee was remitted to him, and authority given to draw for more, whenever the state of our funds might warrant a draft, and the demands in New York require it.

This arrangement did not satisfy the New York committee. They requested, in preference, that we should receive and provide in Philadelphia for a certain number of the immigrants. Although this plan was by no means originally contemplated by us, and was likely to produce a great increase of trouble and inconvenience, we cheerfully assented.

Col. W. P. Smith, one of our members, proceeded, therefore, to New York, and escorted to this city twenty-five of the party, recommended by Mr. Gallatin. Col. S. received from the New York committee the \$500 which we had remitted; and lodged in bank of Pennsylvania, \$481 $\frac{5}{100}$, the remaining \$18 $\frac{1}{2}$ having been expended in New York, and for the fare of the Poles on board the steamboat. The relodgement of this sum in the bank makes the receipts appear so much more than they really were.

From time to time others came on, and the numbers were constantly varying, so that we had sometimes to provide for thirty and thirty-five, and on one occasion there were about forty in this city, of whom a few were not exactly of the description of the first body; but we could not allow them to suffer, and therefore temporarily placed them on the same footing as their compatriots.

Although many of the immigrants had been reduced to this lamentable state, so galling to generous minds, from splendid and even princely fortunes, some from the possession of immense estates, embracing entire towns and villages, and comprising hundreds of souls, and from the enjoyment of all the luxuries of life, it is highly creditable to them, that, with scarcely an exception, they were laudably anxious to procure employment, of almost any kind, in order to relieve their feelings from the dependence on public support. From these considerations, and, moreover, as our funds were, and were likely to continue, very limited, no pains were spared in the effort to procure them occupation. Correspondence

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was opened for this purpose with influential citizens in Baltimore, Lancaster, Harrisburg, Carlisle, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, &c. In furtherance of the same object, W. R. Johnson, Esq., one of the committee, proceeded to the German counties with two of the Poles who spoke German fluently. He visited Lancaster, Gettysburg, Chambersburg, York, &c. &c., in order not merely to procure situations for those who accompanied him, but, if possible, to make provision and permanent arrangements for providing employment for more of their countrymen. This excursion, though of salutary tendency, did not produce all the good consequences that were anticipated. In Lancaster, collections were made to the amount of \$150, and aid was also given to Poles passing through the above towns. But *employment, the grand object* sought, was procured for very few. Hence considerable numbers of the Poles, whose travelling expenses were paid by the committee to go to towns in the interior of the state, to Baltimore, &c., in quest of employment, returned completely disappointed and disheartened. Their expenses of travelling, and those of Mr. Johnson and his companions, made a considerable inroad into our slender finances.

The failure of success in the applications for employment, arose partly from the general stagnation of business at that period throughout the Union, which threw out of employment great numbers of our own citizens, who, in any competition, were sure of a preference over strangers unaccustomed to our manners and customs. It arose partly also, from the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, in which nearly the whole of them were placed by their inability at the commencement, and for some time afterwards, to make themselves understood in our language.

It is unnecessary to descant on the extreme vexation and difficulty experienced by the committee in the arrangements for persons of whom no small number could speak Polish alone—some Polish and German—some Polish and French and German. Not above three or four could speak or understand English. One hundred and fifty French, or five hundred English, Irish, or Scotch, would not be half so difficult to manage.

A teacher was selected, and a room hired for the purpose of having them taught the English language. An edition of two hundred and fifty copies of a vocabulary selected from different phrase books, translated into Polish, was printed, and copies distributed not merely to the Poles who were here, but among those in New York and Boston.

It is in vain to disguise the unpleasant fact, that the public sympathy was by no means excited to the extent that the case claimed, in the eyes of the generous and liberal, from the magnitude of the glorious cause in which these people had so nobly sacrificed themselves, their families, their friends, and their country, independent of the extent and intensity of their immediate sufferings.

In proof of this it may be stated that the benefit at Walnut street theatre produced only the shabby sum of \$171.87, although the celebrated Power, "himself a host," performed, whose appearance might have warranted the expectation of a crowded and brilliant house, with at least from 800 to 1000 dollars. Had the managers made the customary charge of \$250 for the house, the net proceeds would have been only \$93.74!!! as the *gross receipts were only* \$343.74! But the arrangement was, that half of those receipts

should be paid to the committee. It is due to justice (by way of a parenthesis) to state, to the honour of Mr. Power, that he not only performed gratuitously, at a considerable sacrifice of his time, (having come expressly for the purpose,) but contributed handsomely towards the fund.

A further proof of this state of the public feeling arises from the fact, that the charity sermons which were preached in four churches produced but \$486.84—St. John's Church, \$203.96*—Fifth Presbyterian, \$150.46*—Mr. Chambers's, \$78.31, and St. Mary's, \$54.17.† It is not therefore wonderful, that the whole of the receipts amounted only to \$2550 10. This lukewarmness may be partly accounted for by the "DONATION," as it was delusively called, of a township of 23,040 acres, to the Poles by Congress. The whole amount of this *donation* !!! was merely a credit of ten years on the purchase money! Nevertheless, so little was the real nature of the case understood, that most of our citizens were led to believe that the Poles were adequately provided for by the government; whereas the *donation* was for these unfortunate people of no avail whatever. It was impossible for them to turn the lands to any account. They were unable to raise money on them by hypothecation. They could not alienate them, as they had not the fee-simple. They had no means whatever to migrate to them, nor, if there, to cultivate them, or to support themselves, should they attempt to cultivate them! In a word, this pompous donation, however liberally intended by its advocates in Congress, was a mere shadow, which, when they attempted to seize it, eluded their grasp, and left them to despair and wretchedness, in a country boasting of its freedom, in whose defence some of their countrymen had periled, and some had lost their lives. They were, alas! in the most hopeless, destitute, and forlorn situation, while most of our citizens, I repeat, were deceived into the opinion that they had been liberally provided for by our government.

Had Congress given them in cash the amount of one-half of the cash price of the lands, it would have been a real and effectual relief to them. It would have rescued them from the heart-rending scenes which they have since passed through; which drove some of them to suicide; and which reduced others to the painful alternative of perishing of hunger, or depending on charity. Some of them have been for weeks in our cities, unable to procure employment, even for their board and lodging. I repeat, therefore emphatically, that this *donation* was a real injury, in damping the public sympathy, and thus diminishing the contributions for their relief.

It is a trite observation, that a half idiot can often discover, after an operation is performed, how much better it might have been done, however great the care taken in its concoction. And the veriest dolt that walks the streets, can now see, that it would have been better for the Poles and for us, had we at once divided the collection *pro rata* among them, than to have expended nearly the whole of it on their support in this city, where they were almost wholly unemployed, and left so small a modicum for each when

* These sums were very erroneously stated in the U. S. Gazette of June 26—but the errors were corrected in the same paper of June 28.

† A small sum, the exact amount of which I never knew, was raised by the Rev Mr. Richmond, in St. Andrew's Church. See next page.

they dispersed. The truth is, that it was difficult to decide what to do with them. I can conscientiously say, so far as regards myself, that I found my situation the most irksome of a public kind that I ever experienced. A co-operation between the different committees here and in other cities, would have produced salutary results, and was urged by one or two individuals, but was never seriously attempted.

The labours of the Committee appeared to be closed on the 23d of August, when distribution was made of the small remnant of the funds on hands. It was heart-rending to reflect on the friendless and forlorn situation of such a number of estimable men, who were precisely in the situation that Washington, Hancock, Adams, Jefferson, Jay, Morris, and other illustrious citizens would have occupied, had not Heaven looked with more favour on the cause of America, than it appears to have done on that of Poland—a country, once, under the great Sobieski, the proud and efficient bulwark of Europe, against the, till then, overwhelming power of the fierce Moslems, who, but for her, might have prostrated the cross, and elevated on high the crescent to the western boundaries of Europe, in France, Germany, and Holland, as the Saracens had done in Spain.

Many of those ill-fated wanderers had to travel to the westward on foot, with a very few dollars in their pockets. And it reflects a high degree of credit on them, that, in the midst of their distresses and privations, there is no instance of their having ever been guilty of any outrage upon persons or property. Such a strict observance of law and order, by such a number of men, many of them common soldiers, under such intense suffering, cannot be too highly praised.

The Rev. Mr. Richmond had in the month of May made some collections for the Poles in this city, and, of the proceeds, sent in *November* ninety dollars to this Committee, through the hands of Mr. Gallatin. This produced a necessity for a new series of operations. There were here at that time six of the most respectable of your countrymen, who had contracted debts, by the expensive preparation of a Diorama, which unfortunately proved wholly unsuccessful. Being in hourly expectation of being arrested, they had to conceal themselves, and to depend on Mr. Black, a charitable individual, for the necessaries of life. They were desirous of going to New Orleans; and from the money received from the Rev. Mr. R. and some new collections, their debts and passage-money were paid—sea stores purchased for them—and each received a small sum to defray his early contingent expenses on landing. There was a considerable deficiency for these objects, which was supplied by a member of the committee.

This was a final close of our operations; and I now conclude with the ardent prayer, that Congress may, at its next session, give body, and substance, and reality to its "*donation*;" and that the remainder of the career of yourselves and your meritorious countrymen, may be ushered in, and continued, under more favourable auspices than you have hitherto experienced.

Yours, very respectfully,

M. CAREY, *Ex-Chairman P. C.*

Philadelphia, Sept. 30, 1835.

THE attention of the citizens of the United States is respectfully solicited to the following graphic sketch of the efforts of the Poles, with their fatal results: from the British and Foreign Review, or European Quarterly Journal, for July, 1835.

PHILADELPHIA, OCT. 19, 1835.

C.

Polish struggles against despotism—Numerous battles—Great vicissitudes—Glorious prospects fatally blasted—Criminal and impolitic apathy of Foreign Governments—Neutrality no protection—Laudable and deep sympathy of the people in other countries—Liberality of the British nation.

AFTER the fall of Warsaw, on the 8th of September, 1831, all hope seemed to abandon the Polish patriots. Efforts, to rally were not wanting. But that capital, associated in the mind of every Pole with so many proud recollections, for which so many battles had been fought and so much Polish blood had flowed, was lost,—and it appeared to many, that no equally effective point of union could be found, for opposing, with a chance of success, the daily increasing power of the enemy. All prospect of succour from foreign governments had also vanished, and the very feeling that it had been expected, and that the claims of Poland justified the expectation, added a deeper gloom to the despondency which settled on the national cause.

Yet the army was unbroken: it breathed the same martial and undaunted spirit as that which prompted its earliest achievements: and even a casual observer might have perceived, that its devotion increased with the difficulties which environed it, as if it felt the necessity of proving, that true patriotism can bear without shrinking the test of the keenest adversity. The more, therefore, the cause of Poland appeared to be on the wane, and the greater the probability that a fatal crisis in her affairs was approaching, the more was her armed force on the alert, and the greater anxiety did it evince to seize every opportunity of again contending with the enemy. Its ranks had, it is true, been thinned by ten months' sanguinary contest; but the chasms left by the killed and wounded were, without delay, filled up by combatants who thronged from the remotest provinces of ancient Poland, and by foreigners who, in defiance of the military cordons established on the frontiers, joined the Poles in their noble struggle. Hands and hearts were not wanting; and the military pride of the young soldier* was roused, and his confidence confirmed,

* The following statement of the battles fought by the Poles, from the year 1768 to the year 1831, will show the intrepidity with which they have endeavoured to maintain the independence of their country.

EPOCH I.—CONFEDERATION OF BAR.

Years.	Places.	Commanders.	Enemies.
1768,	Berdyczew	Pulaski	Russians.
May 21	Brzezany	I. Potocki	Russians.
May 28	Bar	I. Potocki	Russians.
1769,	Brzesc Litewski	Pulaski	Russians.
June 20	Minsk (Lith.)	{ Bierzynski and } Sapieha	Russians.
1770,	Czenstochowa	Pulaski	Russians.
April 26	Szrensk	Sawa-Kalinski	Russians.
June 22	Lanckorona	Dumouriez	Russians.
Sept. 6	Radziça	M. K. Oginski	Russians.
Sept. 14	Stolowicze	M. K. Oginski	Russians.
1772, April 22	Cracow	Choisy	Russians.
Aug. 25	Czenstochowa	Pulaski	Russians.

EPOCH II.—CAMPAIGN OF 1792.

1792, June 10	Stolbce	Bielak	Russians.
June 11	Mir	Judycki	Russians.
June 15	Boruskowce	M. Wielhorski	Russians.
June 18	Zielence	J. Poniatowski	Russians.
July 4	Zelwa	J. Zabiello	Russians.
July 17	Dubienka	Kosciusko	Russians.
July 24	Granne	J. Zabiello	Russians.
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by being associated in the field with the veterans who had gained over an enemy, three times their number, the brilliant victories of Stoczek, Grochow, Wawr, Dembe-Wielkie, Iganie, and Ostrolenka.

EPOCH III.—WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

Years.	Places.	Commanders.	Enemies.
1794, April 4	Raclawice	Kosciuszko	Russians.
May 7	Polany	Jasinski	Russians.
June 6	Szczekociny	Kosciuszko	Rus. & Prus.
June 8	Chelm	Zayonczek	Russians.
June 25	Soly	Iasinski	Russians.
July 9	Golkow	Zayonczek	Russians.
July 29	Salaty	Giedroyc	Russians.
Aug. 2	Slonim	Sierakowski	Russians.
Aug. 7	Libau	Wawrzecki	Russians.
Sept. 18	Krupczyce	Sierakowski	Russians.
Sept. 19	Brzesc Litewski	Sierakowski	Russians.
Oct. 2	Bromberg	Dombrowski	Prussians.
Oct. 10	Maciejowice	Kosciuszko	Russians.
Nov. 4	Praga	Zayonczek	Russians.

EPOCH IV.—CAMPAIGN OF 1806 TO 1809.

1806, Dec. 27	Bromberg	Kosinski	Prussians.
1807, Feb. 23	Dirschau	Dombrowski	Prussians.
May 16	Ruda	Krukowiecki	Prussians.
1809, April 19	Raszyn	Poniatowski	Austrians.
April 25	Wygoda	Sokolnicki	Austrians.
April 25	Radzymin	Sierawski	Austrians.
May 3	Gora	Sokolnicki	Austrians.
May 18	Sandomir	Sokolnicki	Austrians.
May 14	Thorn	Woyczynski	Austrians.
May 20	Zamosc	Pelletier	Austrians.
June 9	Iedlinsko	Zayonczek	Austrians.
June 17	Sandomir	Sokolnicki	Austrians.
July 11	Zarnowiec	Kosinski	Austrians.
July 18	{ Brykain } { Wieniawka }	{ Ryszczewski }	Austrians.

EPOCH V.—WAR OF 1830-31.

1831, Feb. 14	Stoczek	Dwernicki	Russians.
Feb. 17	Dobre	Skrzynecki	Russians.
Feb. 19	{ Swirza and } { Novawies }	Dwernicki	Russians.
18 to 26	{ Milosna } { Wawr } { Grochow }	{ Radzivill } { Zymirski } { Chlopicki }	{ Skrzynecki } { Lubienski } { Gielgud }
Feb. on the plains of Grochow.	{ Zombki } { Bialolenka } { Nasielsk }	{ Krukowiecki } { Weyssenhoff } { Szembek }	{ Malachowski } { Rohland } { Milberg }
Feb. 26	Pulawy	Lagowski	Russians.
Mar. 2	Kurow	Dwernicki	Russians.
Mar. 31	Wawr	Skrzynecki	{ Prondzynski } { Chrzanowski }
	Dembe	{ Skarzynski } { Zamoyski }	{ Lubienski } Russians.
April 10	Iganie	Prondzynski	Kicki
April 19	Boremel	Dwernicki	Russians.
April 26	Kuflew	Dembinski	Russians.
May 26	Ostrolenka	{ Skrzynecki } { Kamienski } { Bem }	{ Pac } { Kicki } { Lubienski }

Had not, therefore, the timid and selfish policy of the cabinets of Europe paralyzed the efforts of the Polish nation, had they even consented to remain strictly neutral*, history, notwithstanding the feeling of despondency, which necessarily

Names.		Places.	Commanders.		Enemies.
1831, May 29	.	Raygrad	{ Dembinski .	: Sierakowski .	Russians.
			{ Roland .	: Szymanowski .	
June 19	.	Wilno .	. Gielgud .	. Chlapowski .	Russians.
Aug. 9	.	Ilza .	. Rozycki .	. .	Russians.
Aug. 29	.	Miedzyrzec .	. Ramorint .	. Sierawski .	Russians.
Aug. 29	.	Rogoznica .	. Gawronski .	. .	Russians.
Sept. 6	.	Warsaw	{ Malachowski .	: Rybinski .	Russians.
Sept. 7	.		{ Dembinski .	: Uminski .	
Sept. 8	.		{ Sowinski .	: Wysocki .	
			{ Bem .	: .	

* The following letter from General Skrzynecki, to the King of Prussia, proves to what an extent the interference of Prussia, in favour of the Russians, was carried during the contest.

"SIRE—I should not presume to address your Majesty, if I did not entertain the hope, that your Majesty would recognise my title as the Commander-in-chief of the National Forces of Poland. The importance of the object of this communication will, I trust, render it a sufficient apology for me in thus engaging your Majesty's attention.

"From the time of your Majesty's accession to the throne, you have not ceased, in the course of your paternal government, to give splendid proofs of your love of justice. Relying on these qualities, I feel by anticipation, some relief from the annoyance and vexation which the civil and military authorities of your Majesty's government have caused me.

"You have recognised, Sire, in concert with the other Courts, the principle of non-intervention. And there can be no doubt that your Majesty's ministers have received orders to act upon that principle. Hence the Polish army cannot have any right to complain of your Majesty personally, but to submit to you rather, the grievances which your servants have inflicted upon it.

"Every day the army witnesses, in defiance of the neutrality which your Majesty was pleased solemnly to signify your intention of maintaining towards Poland, that the civil and military authorities on the frontiers, manifest so much favour to the Russians, that it is attributable only to the supplies of every description which they receive, through the instrumentality of your Majesty's government and subjects, that the latter have not yet been compelled to retreat.

"First,—The Prussian authorities supply the Russians with provisions from the store-houses of Thorn and the neighbourhood.

"Secondly,—Prussian artillerymen have been sent to the Russian army to be employed against us.

"Thirdly,—The Russian army receives ammunition from the Prussian fortresses.

"Fourthly,—The uniforms of several Russian regiments are made in Prussia.

"Fifthly,—A Prussian engineer of Marienwerder (Kwidzin) has been employed to construct a bridge upon the Vistula, near Zlotoria, for the passage of the Russians; the necessary materials having been furnished by Prussia.

"I could adduce innumerable other circumstances which are equivalent to acts of hostility, but I confine myself to the above facts, in the persuasion that they will be sufficient to engage your Majesty to change the actual state of things which your Majesty is undoubtedly ignorant of, and which is so contrary both to your declared policy and dignity.

"I beg your Majesty will be pleased to excuse the liberty I have taken to address you, and I beseech you to listen to the voice of humanity, and to take pity on the oppressed, whom the gigantic power of Russia would be unable to subdue, without the assistance clandestinely furnished to our enemy, by the civil and military authorities of Prussia.

"In the hope, Sire, that these representations will not be disapproved of by your Majesty,

"I have the honour to be,

"Your Majesty's most obedient humble servant,

"SKRZYŃECKI,

"Generalissimo of the Polish army.

"Head Quarters, Siennica, June 19, 1831."

prevailed with some portions of the people, might yet have recorded the independence of Poland, achieved by the exertions of her own sons; might yet have described her again assuming, as the result of her own efforts, the position which it is the true policy of Europe she should ever maintain—that of a bulwark against the power and ambition of Russia.

The armed force of Poland, subsequently to the surrender of Warsaw, consisted principally of three corps. The largest, of about 30,000 men, had been left to defend the capital, and after its surrender retreated towards Plock, accompanied by the members of the executive government, by the senate, and by a majority of the chamber. It was led by General Rybinski, who had succeeded to the chief command of the Polish army. After some fruitless endeavours to organise a new plan of operations and to cross the Vistula, for the purpose of falling upon the rear of the Russians, the whole of this corps was at last forced to take refuge in Prussia. The second corps was that of General Ramorino, in Podlachia. It numbered 18,000 men, and was composed of regular troops, in the best condition. A battle having been fought near Miedzyrzec, in which it gained some advantages, it pursued the enemy to Brzesc; but being unable to prevent the surrender of Warsaw (to which, after being recalled, it was hastening by forced marches) it made its way towards Sandomir—continually harassed by the Russians—with the view of crossing the Vistula at that point, but finding no bridge constructed, and being unable to effect a passage, it entered the territory of Austrian Galicia. The third and smallest corps was that of General Rozycki, in the Palatinate of Cracow. It consisted of about 6,000 men, a great portion of whom were recruits or volunteers from Volhynia and Podolia. Reinforcements continually streamed to it from Galicia; and there were many in its ranks, animated with an ardent desire to relieve the forlorn state of their country. This corps made the most gallant stand against the Russians, till pressed on all sides, it was obliged to retreat, first on the territory of the Republic of Cracow, and when attacked by the enemy even on that neutral ground, it continued its retreat to Galicia, accompanied by Prince Czartoryski, Skrzynecki, Ladislas Ostrowski, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and by many more of the leading men of the revolution, who had sought an asylum in Cracow, vainly hoping that its neutrality would be respected. Thus Cracow, the ancient capital of Poland—the mausoleum of her kings and heroes,—the place where the ashes of Sobieski and Kosciuszki repose—bore testimony to the fidelity with which Prince Czartoryski and his companions redeemed the pledge pronounced by him in the Senate, and adopted by every Pole, to contend for the last inch of their native country.

To the above corps, which comprised the chief divisions of the Polish army, we must unite a small body of troops under the command of General Dwernicki, which had made a partisan excursion into Volhynia, but which long before the affairs of Poland had taken a disastrous turn, was obliged to seek refuge on Austrian ground, followed by many of the inhabitants of Podolia, who previously to its movement towards that province, had enthusiastically joined the national cause. Finally, if to the above we add about 12,000 Polish troops and Lithuanian insurgents, who, with Generals Gielgud and Chlapowski, entered Prussia at the close of the contest, we shall have the gross number of refugees of all ranks and arms, of every age and sex, who constituted in the first instance the mass of the Polish emigration.

The extent of this emigration did not fail to excite surprise in many parts of Europe, and the Emperor himself, startled by its amount, issued promises of pardon to his misguided Polish subjects, as they were called, if they would return to their country. Many, driven by necessity, or compelled by the open hostility of the neighbouring powers, were eventually obliged to accept these offers: but the leading members of the national government, the officers of the army, and a large body of the soldiers, felt that there were strong and urgent reasons for not listening to any terms proposed by the Emperor Nicholas. They knew him from experience, and that experience taught them not only that his heart was a stranger to the feelings of humanity, but that he was the uncompromising enemy of their national independence and of their social and political rights. How then could they believe a tyrant's professions, when they were conscious they had awakened his fears, by their devotion to their country's cause. When they knew they had humbled his pride, and wounded his self-love, by revealing to Europe the weakness of his unwieldy empire?—that giant, as it has been called, on his feet of clay!

But had the Poles even admitted justice to be an attribute consistent with the nature of an offended despot, all reliance on his professions would have been destroyed by the fact, that they who enjoyed his confidence, and directed the policy of his government, were the implacable enemies of Poland and of freedom. From the natural disposition of the Russian people the Poles had not much to fear; but they had every thing to dread from their fanaticism and ignorance, feelings which when artfully worked upon by the agents of the Russian Government, have ever made them the ready tools and fearful ministers of the Emperor's will. At one time the Russian army was made to believe that it was marching against the French, to whom it bore a national hatred from the time of Napoleon; and when this stratagem was discovered, by the Russian and Polish troops meeting in the field of battle, the priests were instructed to preach a crusade against the Poles as Roman Catholics, who intended to subvert the Greek church, to desecrate their places of worship, and to convert the people of Russia to the Roman Catholic faith. By these, and similar delusions, the Russians were exasperated against the Poles, and were induced to consider the war in which they were engaged, a contest for their altars and their homes. Under the influence of such feelings, the Imperial Guards were despatched from Petersburg in the frost of January—Barbarian hordes were summoned from the remotest corners of Asiatic Russia—and Kierghies, Circassians, and Kalmucks were pressed into the service, to maintain the tottering despotism of Muscovy, and suppress constitutional freedom on the banks of the Vistula. In vain did the Poles send out white flags, bearing the inscription "For our and your liberty." The appeal was made without success to an ignorant soldiery; the flags were supposed to be flags of truce, or rewards were claimed by those who laid them at the feet of their commanders, as for trophies taken in battle. Thus the ignorance and fanaticism of the Russian people, which interposed so many obstacles to the establishment of Polish independence, would, in the event of the Poles returning to their own country, have rendered it impossible for them to rely on their good will, as a protection against the cruelty and oppression of the government.

The only remaining source to which the Poles could have looked for substantial relief, would have been the armed intervention of the cabinets or of the people of Europe. But they remembered the treaty of Vienna, already violated with impunity by the Russian government. They knew, too, that it had been proclaimed in the French Chamber of Deputies on the fall of the capital of their country, that "Peace and order reigned at Warsaw," and they also knew that "the peace which reigned at Warsaw" was "the peace of the tomb."

The Poles, therefore, after making efforts unparalleled in the history of nations, beheld themselves surrounded with imminent dangers at home, while they could trace nothing but apathy and indifference, or open hostility, abroad. In this difficult situation, they adopted the course which appeared to them most consistent with the interests of their country and with their own character. History told them that many of their countrymen had heretofore, in foreign lands, formed themselves into Polish legions, and had afterwards returned to their homes, to assist in re-establishing one part of dismembered Poland. "In his military emigration, the Pole of former days, who transported into foreign lands his household gods, called down vengeance on the violence so long inflicted on them, and consoled himself with the reflection, that in supporting the cause of freedom he was fighting the battles of his native land; and in the Duchy of Warsaw, the country of his forefathers existed again."* The refugees hoped to follow these bright examples, if circumstances should permit; and, confident in the justice of their cause, they did not, even in their deepest adversity, despair of the regeneration of their native country; but with firmness unshaken, and with untainted honour, they abandoned the frontiers and emigrated from Poland.

Emigration, however, necessarily involves a severance of those ties of kindred and of home, which renders it a painful and melancholy undertaking, though prompted as in the case of the Poles by the most exalted and patriotic motives. "It was on the evening of the 16th of November," says an eye witness, "that Ramorino's corps passed into the Austrian territory. The last rays of the sun, emerging from behind the mountains of Sandomir, fell across a beautiful landscape

* Manifesto of the Polish Nation to Europe.

on the opposite bank of the Vistula, which rolled its waters in deep shade below. The contest had just ceased. The Polish army stood in its ranks on a broken and hilly piece of ground, safe after the recent battle from their overwhelming and implacable foe, only because the neutrality of the Austrian territory was, in this instance, respected. The Russian cannon was still heard at intervals in the distance, echoing along the ridge of mountains, and as its sound died away, it seemed for the moment to the Polish patriot, that the last blow for his country had been struck, and that his efforts had terminated, as the anxieties of man terminate when the final struggle of life is over. There was, indeed, in their situation, enough to excite the deepest emotion. The patriotic songs, so often heard in the Polish camp, were hushed—here and there horses strayed deprived of their riders—the soldiers leant on their arms in mute despondency—and when called upon by the Austrian authorities to surrender those arms, many of the veterans who had served in the campaigns of Napoleon, broke their muskets, while others buried their sabres in secret places, in the hope that they would soon again be required in the service of their country."

A similar scene took place upon the retreat of General Rybinski's corps into Prussia. It was, as we have mentioned, the principal division of the Polish army, and was accompanied by ninety-five pieces of cannon, which were surrendered to the local authorities, pursuant to a stipulation which had been entered into with the Prussian government. The cosmopolite would perhaps have sneered at the feeling evinced by many of the soldiers on quitting these stern companions of their triumphs and misfortunes; but those best acquainted with the character of the Poles, gathered from their conduct hope and confidence for the future fortunes of their country, while every new act of devotion discovered the true source of the extraordinary exertions they had made during the past. These cannon were afterwards delivered to the Russians, a proceeding unexpected by the Poles, and which they considered the greatest insult that could be offered to them as soldiers.

The Poles in Austrian Galicia having laid down their arms, had places of sojourn allotted to them till further orders were received from Vienna. The soldiers were distributed in depots, while the officers were allowed to take up their quarters at Sieniawa (an estate of Prince Czartoryski), and both were placed under strict military surveillance. Many of the officers, however, contrived to elude the vigilance of the Austrian cordon of 60,000 men, and joined Rozycki's corps, which was still in the field, against the common enemy. Such of them as remained, and were natives of Galicia, were allowed by the Austrian Government to continue unmolested in their homes; while those who were strangers, met with all the warmth and sympathy which the natives of that ancient province of Poland continue to cherish towards their fellow-countrymen. The refugees, therefore, were everywhere received with enthusiasm; the mansions of the resident gentry were thrown open at their approach, and where the Austrian system of espionage permitted, their presence was the signal of rejoicing and festivity. Indeed, no where might Prince Metternich and his Imperial master read a more instructive lesson than in Austrian Galicia. The public functionaries are, for the most part, Germans; Poles having been excluded from offices of trust in the local government, in the hope that Polish principles might be suppressed, and that opinions more congenial to the tastes and wishes of the Imperial Court, might be introduced into that portion of the Empire. But the very reverse has happened. The German functionaries have become bound by family connexions to the native Galicians; their children have been educated at the same seminaries with the Polish youth; early friendships have been established, and social ties have been formed; they have failed to diffuse German habits and prejudices, but they have themselves imbibed the feelings and enthusiasm of their new countrymen, and many of the volunteers in the Polish ranks during the recent contest were the sons of civil servants, nominated by the Court of Vienna.

In Hungary, too, the liveliest sympathy was openly avowed for the Poles, both during the continuance and after the termination of their struggle. It is known that the Hungarians offered to arm and maintain, at their own expense, 100,000 men to assist the Poles. The offer was rejected by the Austrian Cabinet. But we cannot convey a more faithful picture of the feeling which prevailed amongst these ancient allies of Poland, than by quoting the following extract from an Address presented to the Emperor of Austria by the County Palatine of Bars:—

"In considering the enormous power the Ottoman Empire at one time possessed, and the long wars it waged with Greece; the very misfortunes our country, through this increase of power, was subsequently exposed to, have taught us that the great fault at that period was with us, inasmuch as we abandoned Greece to its own fate, and allowed it to be subjugated. The present is an analogous case, and we are therefore reminded of the propriety of not looking with indifference at the gigantic strides of the Northern Colossus, which is so rapidly increasing in power; *not by any right of inheritance, nor by free popular election, but by force of arms*; that it may be checked while there is time, and be confined within its proper limits. By evincing our gratitude, and by performing a bounden duty towards the undaunted Poles, who are fighting for their independence and their nationality, we shall also provide for our own security. Whereas, by neglecting to do so, and by abandoning them, should they succumb, overwhelmed though not subdued, we fear lest we ourselves or our descendants, be exposed to the same perils from the same enemy, and hereafter lament, though in vain, that there is not another Sobieski to save us.*

"May it therefore please your majesty graciously to consider what dreadful futurity the gallant Polish nation would have to expect, if their noble efforts should fail to produce those results to which the justice of their cause entitles them: a nation, Sire, whose claims on your august house, and on our own country, are never to be forgotten—a nation, which with courage unparalleled, but with forces unequal, is now struggling with its enemy, and is not likely to succeed but at the expense of the greatest sacrifices. In considering, furthermore, that danger is impending, from the North on all the neighbouring nations, we most humbly pray your Majesty to make the fate of unhappy Poland, before it be too late, an object of deliberation with your faithful subjects at the next Diet; and in the meanwhile graciously to abolish the recent regulations which prohibit *all exportation of arms, ammunition, and scythes*, almost the only branch of commerce that is left us by the severe prohibitions of the custom-house."

Our limits prevent us from entering more into detail on these occurrences. We have endeavoured, however imperfectly, to shadow out events, which we conceive justify the opinion that there exists in the eastern sections of Europe, a current of feeling which may be diverted from its legitimate and proper channel; but which, if properly directed, would in due season overwhelm, with accumulated power, the boundaries which the narrow policy of despotism would interpose to its progress. And we contend, that even the few facts we have stated show, that a bolder and more decided course of action on the part of England and of France, during the late contest, would have re-established Poland as an independent kingdom, and by forming a nucleus in that country for constitutional principles, would have reared an impassable barrier against the encroachments of Russia.

It is said, that the timid policy we adopted has prevented a lavish expenditure of money, and a great sacrifice of human life. We are sincere advocates for peace, and the conviction that these objects had been permanently attained, would go far to reconcile us to the existing state of things in Poland. But what is there in the recent proceedings and present position of Russia to justify such an assumption? Are we prepared to look coldly on, while Constantinople shares the fate of Warsaw, while this key-stone is added to the arch of Russian ambition? And can we persuade ourselves that the moral influence which such a conquest would exercise over the whole Mahometan world, the actual power Russia would thereby acquire in the Mediterranean, and in southern Europe, would neither affect the security of our eastern possessions, or bring danger to constitutional freedom in the west?

Russia, during the contest in Poland, resembled, if we may so express ourselves, a vast, but ill-assorted Mosaic; kingdoms, provinces, and districts, acknowledging one common authority, but without any community of customs, language, or religion, made up the unwieldy and discordant mass;† and the intrinsic weakness of

* Among the papers of Constantine, found after his escape from Warsaw, a plan for the invasion of Hungary by Russia was discovered, which contained the most minute details of an intended campaign, drawn up by Lieutenant-Colonel Prondzinski, at the command of the Grand Duke.

† We believe the following, taken from Malte-Brun, to be the most accurate published statement of the various Nations and Tribes that constitute the Russian Empire. The

jointed and weak will be consolidated and strengthened; and the armies she now employs to subdue and control her distant and turbulent provinces, will be wielded to promote her ambition, and extend her conquests in civilized Europe.

A sufficient supply of arms and ammunition would have enabled the Poles to bring more than treble the number of combatants into the field, and it is possible that this accession of force might have enabled them successfully to resist their oppressors; but there can be no reasonable doubt, that if their exertions had also been stimulated by the knowledge of an English squadron being in the Baltic, or an English squadron and a French army in the Euxine, we should now be celebrating the triumphs of regenerated Poland, instead of mourning over her misfortunes and degradation. The Governments of England and France shrunk from this manly, and, as it appears to us, obvious line of policy. The question, therefore, which might have been disposed of before the walls of Warsaw, remains to be decided, under circumstances much less favourable, on the shores of the Bosphorus.

Prussia, with no unequal steps, followed the example set by Russia, in her conduct towards the Poles. The sluggish and more indifferent Austrian can only be arraigned at the bar of Europe, as an accessory to the national crimes perpetrated by the Czar. Prussia stands forward as a principal. Her cruelty to the unarmed and defenceless warriors, who trusted to her honour, was rivalled by her mean subserviency to the cabinet of Petersburg.

The number of Poles who surrendered in Prussia, in consequence of the stipulation entered into between the Prussian authorities and the Polish chiefs, amounted to upwards of 20,000 men. This division laid down their arms, on the express condition of obtaining protection and safe sojourn. But the Prussian Government did not permit those to whom it vouchsafed its protection, to dispose of themselves as they thought fit. The refugees were treated as prisoners of war, during four months; and at the expiration of that period, they were informed that such of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers as were natives of the kingdom of Poland must return, for to them the Emperor of Russia had granted an amnesty. On the 11th of December, 1831, a division of the Poles were surrounded by Prussian troops, who gave them to understand, that if they refused to march, they would be fired upon. Such of them as submitted were immediately forwarded to the frontiers, while those who declared their unwillingness to return to Poland, assembled in groups, preferring death to Russian amnesty. Attempts were then made under pretence of changing their cantonments, to draw them gradually towards Poland and place them within the power of the Russian troops; but the unfortunate refugees, now convinced of the bad faith of the Prussian authorities, refused to proceed. This was the signal for a scene of blood which must fill every generous mind with indignation. The Prussian cavalry charged the unarmed Poles: but the soldiers only called God to witness the barbarous massacre, they submitted to die, but refused to advance a step. These scenes were repeated on more than one occasion, and General Rybinski thought himself imperatively called upon to address the following letter of remonstrance to the King of Prussia:

“SIRE—It is with a heart lacerated with grief, that I address myself to your Majesty, in order to lay before you the details of the bloody event which has plunged my unfortunate fellow soldiers into mourning and despair; an event which I am afraid will be represented to your Majesty in a false light, seeing that it could not have been authorized, and that the Polish soldiers who had sought refuge in Prussia, did not forget, even at the moment at which they fell the victims of the most horrible treatment, either the respect which they owed to the authority of the country in which they found themselves, or the gratitude which was due from them to your Majesty for the hospitality which you have been pleased to extend to them. A simple and exact recital of the facts will prove this.

“Major Szweykowski, of the Prussian army, repaired, on the 27th of the present month to Fischau, for the purpose of reviewing there a detachment of Polish cavalry, which was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Marienburgh. And having separated several soldiers from this detachment, who he said were too much compromised to return to their own country, he declared to the others, that they would be compelled to return immediately to Poland. All these soldiers, who had on several occasions manifested their firm determination not to return to Poland, resolved to repair to Marienburgh, to General Schmidt,

who had guaranteed to them the free choice of a place of residence, and in whose premises they had the greatest confidence. But scarcely had they begun their march, totally unarmed, when a detachment of Prussian infantry opposed their passage: the Polish soldiers instructed one of their officers to endeavour to facilitate their advance; but at this moment a sharp fire from the Prussian detachment, killed six Polish soldiers on the spot, and wounded seven very dangerously. Even a Prussian officer, named Trembicki, being among the Polish soldiers, in order to harangue them, was seriously wounded. The Polish soldiers bore with heroic patience, this horrible violation of hospitality and of voluntary promises; and although much superior in numbers, did not commit any attack against the authority and troops of your Majesty. They contented themselves with dispersing, and arriving separately at Marienburgh, where they were lodged by Major Zelaskowski, in the castle of that town.

"Having thus made a faithful recital to your Majesty, of this terrible event, so opposite to your sentiments, I have only to claim your protection against so great a violation of the hospitality which your Majesty deigned to grant us, and to supplicate you to allow the Polish officers and soldiers, who have taken refuge in your territory, their personal liberty; seeing that all the measures which have been taken to induce them to return to their country, only serve to confirm them in the resolution, to suffer death rather than profit by a mere show of amnesty.

"Before separating myself from the army which I have had the honour to command, I have thought it a most sacred duty to address myself to your Majesty, in the name of my unfortunate fellow soldiers—in the name of suffering humanity.

"MATTHIEU RYBINSKI,

"General in Chief of the Polish Army."

"*Elbing, 28th Jan. 1832.*"

Scarcely seven thousand of the refugees were eventually able to evade the bayonets of the Prussian troops, or had sufficient firmness in their forlorn situation to resist the hollow offers of amnesty, promulgated by the Russian Government. The remainder were either forced again to enter Poland, or were induced to do so, by the delusive hopes held out to them, of being permitted to return to their homes and their families. These hopes, however, were soon destroyed; numbers were on their return enrolled in the regiments destined for Siberia and the Caucasus, and those who ventured to remonstrate were offered the alternative of submission, or of death by the *knout*. At Janow, a town in the palatinate of Lublin, this barbarous punishment was inflicted on seventeen Polish soldiers, who were beaten to death in the presence of the Russian General Gortschakoff, and the same cruel proceeding was witnessed by an English traveller at Cronstadt,* where out of fifty Polish soldiers who refused to serve, twelve were selected and beaten. Three thousand unarmed Poles were drawn up to witness the disgusting spectacle, and a large body of Russian troops attended to suppress any attempt to rescue their unhappy countrymen. Two files of Russian soldiers, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, stood with hazel sticks in the right hand, and a loaded musket in the left; the but-ends of two muskets were then placed under the arms of the sufferers, to force them through this double line of their torturers; and in front bayonets were pointed at their breasts, to prevent their advancing too quickly. In this situation several of the Poles received so many blows, that a foreign surgeon present declared, they could not survive the day; but if they survived and recovered, they were to be beaten again until they consented to serve.

A broad line of distinction must, however, be drawn between the Prussian Government and the Prussian people; for, although the Poles did not find in Prussia that warmth of feeling which met their countrymen in Austrian Galicia, amidst their kinsmen and friends, yet they were received with kindness, and throughout Germany a lively feeling of regret was expressed at their want of success.

In Saxony this feeling kindled into enthusiasm. Two of the rulers of Saxony had, for upwards of half a century, been kings of Poland,† and its late king was Grand Duke of the Duchy of Warsaw. Some of the aged might recollect the former period, and the latter was within the memory of every Saxon adult; the

* Polonia, p. 347. Hull Record, pp. 49. 56.

† Augustus II. and Augustus III.; from 1697 to 1763.

two countries were blended in the page of history; their fate had been equally disastrous; and they were linked together by a community of suffering and misfortune. The enthusiasm thus excited in Saxony, spread rapidly to the Rhine. Committees were formed, not only at Dresden and Leipsic, but also at Hannau, Frankfort, Metz, and the adjacent towns. The line of march of the Polish refugees, on their road to France, resembled that of a triumphant army, rather than the broken and dispirited progress of a defeated band of patriots, and no conquerors were ever received with more honour and distinction, than these unfortunate sufferers in the cause of freedom. Whenever the Polish columns approached a town, they were met, often at a distance of several miles, by the citizens bearing the flags of their different guilds, entwined with the Polish colours. The magistrates and the people vied with each other in welcoming the gallant though unfortunate strangers; the road over which they passed was often strewn with flowers; their deeds were sung in their native Polish language; and their entry within the city walls of their hospitable entertainers, was celebrated with music, and the firing of artillery.

But the effect produced by the presence of the Poles was not confined to these outward marks of sympathy and friendship. At political meetings, and at social festivals, Poland was praised and lamented; poets bewailed her fall, and historians recorded her achievements; she was held up as an example worthy of imitation, and a feeling of admiration for the heroic efforts of her sons, and of indignation against her enemies, sunk deeply into the minds of the German people. They felt, in the language of the address of the Polish refugees to the British House of Commons, "That the successive partitions of Poland subverted the system of European states; that they checked the progress of constitutional improvement by considerably increasing the material force of the despotic powers; that they gave birth to a new system, contrary to public right and justice; that they afforded additional power to despots to turn to their own profit the annihilation of the independence of nations; that they enabled them, under the pretence of benefiting the people and of curbing the spirit of rebellion, to overturn and destroy the liberty of twenty millions of Poles; that then the struggle between *two principles* began—a struggle which, after having brought on the dismemberment of Poland, ought to end by her complete re-establishment, as the only means of securing liberty against the encroachments of despotism."

Let the Autocrat of Russia mark well these consequences of his ruthless policy! Let him call to mind his disregard of every constitutional right—his violation of international compacts—and let him reproach himself, if, when the sword is again drawn, he should find it is no longer in a contest with the limited power of the Poles, but with freemen, and the friends of freedom, to whatever European community they belong, armed to put down the enemy of civilization and constitutional liberty—united to roll back into its congenial steppes and deserts the tide of Russian barbarism and oppression.

The despotic princes of the Continent felt uneasy at the prevalence of these feelings in favour of the Poles. A spark might have lighted up not only a war, but a European war of opinion, the remote consequences of which were not unnaturally dreaded by the absolute Cabinets of Berlin and Vienna. The most rigorous measures were, therefore, immediately adopted to expel the Poles, and the European States of the second and third class were in many instances compelled, at the summons of their powerful neighbours, to follow the example they were not slow to set them. Switzerland was the last to yield, the last to refuse an asylum to the refugees; but the Polish patriots were at length driven from the country of William Tell. No places of refuge then remained except England, France, Belgium, and America.

In a future number we may give some account of the state of the Poles in other countries; but our limits on the present occasion will only permit us to notice, very briefly, their arrival and actual condition in England. For about twelve months after the close of the war of independence but few of the refugees found their way hither. In the spring of 1832, some ensigns coming from Prussia, most of whom had been students in the University of Warsaw, landed in England; and these were followed, towards the end of the year, by a few officers who were expelled from Saxony at the instigation of Russia. In January, 1834, three vessels, which had been despatched from Prussia to America with Poles, landed the refugees they had on board at Havre in France, at Portsmouth, and at Harwich. Those at Har-

wich accepted service soon afterwards at Algiers under the French Government; but the Poles at Portsmouth, amounting to about 212 men, remained. The number has been increased, from time to time, by wanderers from Switzerland, France, Austria, and Portugal. At no period, however, did the refugees in England exceed 500 men, and they now amount to about 425, nearly one half of whom are officers.

Early in 1832 a number of gentlemen, including Mr. Thomas Campbell the poet, formed themselves into the "Literary Association of the Friends of Poland." In 1833 this Association was established on a more extended basis. Mr. Wentworth Beaumont, the liberal member for the southern division of Northumberland, and the liberal contributor to the wants of the Poles, was elected President; and Lord Brougham, Lord Dudley Stuart, Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, and other zealous friends of the Polish cause, have since given it their active support. The praiseworthy objects of this Association are, to lend their zealous, though feeble aid, to preserve from utter extinction the name and national existence of Poland—to record their humble, but decided, protest against every new violation of its constitution, and of the rights which were guaranteed to its people by European treaties—to extend assistance to the victims of an arbitrary government, who may be driven to England—and to alleviate, if possible, the sufferings of those who have fallen within its grasp. With these objects in view, we need scarcely say that the Polish Association has our warmest wishes for its prosperity, and we are happy to learn that it now includes, amongst its supporters, nearly *sixty* members of both Houses of Parliament. Its influence, too, is daily increasing both in England and on the Continent; and it appears, from the "Annual Report" now before us, that its efforts to relieve the distressed Poles in England have been eminently successful. On the motion of Lord Dudley Stuart, one of its Vice Presidents, the House of Commons last year granted £10,000 for the relief of the refugees, and the government confided the distribution of that sum, under certain general rules, to the Association. This most seasonable grant of money was estimated to last for a period of twelve months, and the following scale of distribution has been adopted:—

To every field officer per month	-	-	-	-	£3	0	0
To every officer under that rank	-	-	-	-	2	0	0
To private soldiers	-	-	-	-	1	8	0

The privates who still remain at Portsmouth having, it appears, the use of a government hospital for barracks, receive only £1 1s. per month.*

We are sincere advocates for economy in the public expenditure, and we are not, we hope, insensible to the claims of our native poor: but we trust, nevertheless, that this pittance will be continued to these brave men until they become somewhat acquainted with our language, and have succeeded in devising a plan for their permanent support. To us the question appears to be simply, whether four hundred and twenty-five Polish refugees, who have been forced to this country, and whose sole hope of subsistence for the present is on public bounty, shall or not be permitted to die of want in our streets. The uncertainty of the period at which such grants may cease, has been urged as an objection; but it may be answered that such a consideration was not suffered to weigh with the governments of France, Belgium, and Switzerland; nor did it operate as a bar to the liberality of England in the case of the Spaniards, the French, and other emigrants. Why then so much hesitation, so many scruples, such excessive caution, on the part of our *Executive* Government, when the Poles are concerned? It has also been urged, that by relieving the Poles a precedent will be established, under which the refugees of every country will claim support from the Legislature; and we admit that this is at least a colourable argument against the proposed grant. If, at any future period, men shall land on

* We should be doing great injustice to the liberal inhabitants of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle, Hull, Portsmouth, and Norwich, if we omitted to state that they have ever been foremost to relieve the refugees; but our limits only permit us to convey to these friends of the Poles, our belief that their exertions are gratefully remembered by the objects of their bounty, and have given assistance and consolation to more than one desponding circle.

our shores, who are entitled to say to the Government and people of England, "By your act, and that of your allies, our country was surrendered to a powerful neighbouring State, upon certain conditions; those conditions have been repeatedly and shamelessly violated: for fifteen years we submitted to oppression with patience, though not without deep indignation. At length, seeing a favourable opportunity, we took up arms to vindicate our rights—to assert the nationality you guaranteed. You abandoned us, and some of your allies basely betrayed us in the hour of need. Overwhelmed in consequence by superior numbers, our righteous attempt has failed, and we now come exiles, from our native land, to implore at your hands, the means of subsistence.*" We repeat, that any refugees who may hereafter visit our shores, and shall be entitled to address us in this language, but no others, will also be justified in referring to any relief we may grant the Poles as a precedent applicable to their own case.

We cannot conclude these observations, without noticing an event which has recently taken place at Warsaw. A commission, composed chiefly of Russian military officers, was last year appointed for the trial of political offences alleged to have been committed during the national contest of 1830–31. Its members held their offices during pleasure, and enforced a degree of secrecy which has prevented the details of their proceedings from being fully and circumstantially known; but the decrees* which have emanated from this tribunal sufficiently prove that the constitutional rights of the Polish subject have again been outraged by its acts,

* MSS. papers of the Polish Association.

† The following manifesto was issued on the termination of the sittings of this "High Criminal Court."

"Nicholas, by the grace of God, Emperor of all the Russias, King of Poland, &c.

"When, by our manifesto of the 20th of Oct. (1st Nov.), 1831, we granted a general amnesty to our Polish subjects, we excepted from the said amnesty, all the authors of, and actors in, the revolt. The criminal tribunal established at Warsaw to try the State criminals according to law, has terminated its labours; and having submitted its report to a revision, as well as the sentences pronounced by the same, and bearing in mind the entreaties of the late Grand Duke Constantine Paulowitz, that we would not withdraw our mercy from the criminals, and conciliating the interests of justice, and respect due to the laws with our sentiments of clemency, we have thought fit to mitigate the punishments decreed by the tribunals, and have ordained, First—to commute the sentence of death passed on four criminals, to hard labour in the mines of Siberia—the first for twenty years, the second for eighteen years, the third for fifteen years, and the fourth for ten years. Secondly—Those condemned to be imprisoned for ten or twelve years, in the fortresses, are to have the period reduced to eight years. Thirdly—Those condemned to a hard imprisonment (*carcere duro*) shall be incorporated in the companies of prisoners who are employed as labourers on the public works. Fourthly—Those condemned to three years' imprisonment shall be reduced to two years; and those to two, to one year. Lieut. Col. Charles Zielinski is pardoned, in consequence of his good conduct. As to the criminals and malefactors, who hid themselves after the revolt was over, as they are accused of crimes which exclude them from the amnesty, and have not followed our recommendations, to the number of 249, and are condemned to be hanged, it is our will that they be deprived of all rights, and that the sentence of death shall be commuted into perpetual banishment. If any of these banished persons should present themselves in any part of the empire, they are to be subjected to criminal martial law.

"All investigations, inquests, or instructions, that have been commenced, for arriving at the discovery of the origin of the revolt; and all proceedings against individuals implicated in the same, shall be discontinued. The Special Criminal Tribunal is dissolved. The documents relative thereto shall be delivered to our Governor, who is entrusted with the execution of the present decree.

"Done at Zarskojeselo, 4th (16th) of Sept. 1834.

(Signed)

"NICHOLAS."

Attached to the above decree of amnesty is, first, a list of forty-nine criminals, who are condemned to be hanged: secondly, a list of nine who are condemned to be beheaded; among whom are Prince Adam Czartoryski, Moraski, &c.: thirdly, a list of criminals condemned for twenty years to confinement in the fortresses; fourthly, a list of those condemned to ten years' imprisonment.

while its members have apparently vied with each other in their endeavours to carry into effect the imperial mandate, to judge "quickly and severely."*

It would be occupying the time of our readers unnecessarily, to demonstrate how inconsistent the proceedings of such a tribunal must be with the general character of the Polish constitution, and in particular with the 138th and 141st articles, which declare, "That the judicial order is constitutionally independent, and that judges are nominated by the King for life, and cannot be removed." It must also be within the knowledge of every educated Englishman, that the constitutional freedom, the institutions, and the "nationality," not only of one portion, but of the whole of the ancient kingdom of Poland, under the several governments to which it is subjected, was guaranteed by the Treaty of Vienna, to which Great Britain is a party. We trust, therefore, that the fate of the unhappy men who have been doomed by this illegal tribunal to a "living death" in the Mines of Siberia, or to drag on a painful and degrading existence as common labourers on the public works, will attract some attention from the members of the British Legislature and Government. We believe that the national interests, as well as the national honour of England, demand a faithful performance of public treaties on the part of foreign powers; but at least we are called upon to attempt, by remonstrances through our Ambassador at Petersburg, to alleviate sufferings at which humanity revolts,—sufferings not only undeserved, but which are inflicted in defiance of international good faith, and are the consequences of conduct which claims and receives the admiration of the civilized world. We admit that there is much truth in what was alleged by Lord Brougham at the last anniversary meeting of the Polish Association, as to the disinclination of the public and the legislature to entertain any question of this kind; but it was correctly said by the noble Lord at the same time, "It all arises from their not knowing it is not merely a matter of humanity, but that it is a matter of interest to themselves, and that foreign policy is not foreign policy in the ordinary sense of the word. It arises from their not knowing that they have a domestic interest in it, which is important to them as Englishmen, and which will have an immediate bearing upon the interests of our own country."

We have also, with reference to this branch of the subject, much pleasure in quoting the observations which fell from Mr. Cutlar Fergusson on the same occasion, in allusion to the discussion which had recently taken place in the House of Commons, on the attempt to appoint the Marquess of Londonderry our Ambassador at the Court of Petersburg:—"I think," said the Honourable Member, "that the discussion which took place the other day, was perhaps one of the most useful for the Polish cause that ever did take place, because there is no other reason why the House of Commons has not permitted Lord Londonderry to go as ambassador of this country to Russia except this." (His Lordship's declaration that the Poles were *rebels*.) "Now I do think that the effect of that will be most salutary, and that it must, to a certain degree, make the arbitrary monarchs of the continent reflect. The Emperor Nicholas will learn what the state of feeling in this country is, from its being so powerful in the House of Commons; and he must perfectly well know that if the House of Commons take up any question, and feel it warmly, it must be carried forward in the House of Lords. He cannot be ignorant of this, and, therefore, I think the result has done the Polish cause good."

We venture to hope that the observations of these distinguished men will not be lost on the liberal members of the Legislature, and that every opportunity will be taken to bring under the attention of the Government and of the public, the important national considerations involved in the Polish question—a question which must, we believe, ere long, force itself upon the attention of western Europe, on the ground of self interest alone, and independently of every better and more generous motive. In the mean time let the Polish exile, in the emphatical language of the Crown of Poland, in 1772, "Full of confidence in the justice of the Almighty, lay his rights at the feet of the Eternal Throne, and put his cause into the hands of the King of Kings,

* Skoro i Srogo (*promptly and severely*), said the Emperor, in passing through Warsaw, to General Sulima, the president of the "High Criminal Court." General Sulima was soon after succeeded by General Pankratieff, and was *promoted* to the Governorship of Irkutsk, the capital of Ancient Siberia. It is said, he incurred this disgrace for having added to the Emperor's two words, a third, *i sprawiedliwie* (*and with justice*).

the Supreme Judge of nations, and in the full assurance of his succour, protest solemnly, and before the whole universe, against every step taken, or to be taken, towards the dismembering of Poland.”*

* The following is a statistical account of the Territory that constituted the kingdom of Poland at the time of the first partition, in 1772. The whole of which took a deep and enthusiastic interest in the contest for independence :

*Distribution of the inhabitants of ancient Poland, according to their Languages
(from Stanislas Plater, 1825.)*

TERRITORY.	Sq. miles	Poles.	Lithu- nians and Lettons.	Russes, or Rus- nacks.	Germans.	Jews.	Walla- chians.	Russians, or Musco- vites.	TOTAL.
Kingdom of Poland - -	2,270	3,000,000	200,000	100,000	300,000	400,000			4,000,000
Republic of Cracow - -	20	110,000				10,000			120,000
Russian Poland - -	7,600	750,000	1,000,000	5,520,000		1,300,000	50,000	180,000	8,800,000
Kingdom of Galicia (Aus- trian Poland) - - -	1,500	1,700,000		1,900,000	50,000	300,000	50,000		4,000,000
Duchy of Posen (Pruss.)	540	660,000			270,000	70,000			1,000,000
Prussian Poland - - -	900	550,000	200,000		920,000	30,000			1,700,000
Courtland and Samogitia (Russian) - - - -	450		500,000		100,000				600,000
TOTAL - -	13,280	6,770,000	1,900,000	7,520,000	1,640,000	2,110,000	100,000	180,000	20,220,000

Distribution of the inhabitants, according to their Religious Creeds.

	Roman Catho- lic.	United or Catho- lic Greeks.	Oriental Greeks.	Raskol- nicks.	Protes- tants.	Jews.	Mussul- mans.	TOTAL.
Kingdom of Poland - -	3,200,000	100,000			300,000	400,000		4,000,000
Republic of Cracow - -	110,000					10,000		120,000
Russian Poland - -	2,400,000	1,640,000	3,230,000	180,000		1,300,000	50,000	8,500,000
Kingdom of Galicia (Austrian Poland) - - -	1,500,000	2,000,000	200,000			300,000		4,000,000
Duchy of Posen (Prussian)	600,000				330,000	70,000		1,000,000
Prussian Poland - - -	750,000				920,000	30,000		1,700,000
Courtland and Samogitia (Rus- sian) - - - -					600,000			600,000
	8,560,000	3,740,000	3,430,000	180,000	2,150,000	2,110,000	50,000	20,220,000

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